

meet the thick-coming aggressions of the slave power in the full sweep of its despotism. They know that that power has been false to the well-understood engagement in the faith of which it received a qualified toleration under the Federal Union in the old states. They know that compacts and compromises are binding alike upon both parties to them. They know that usurpation, long continued, naturally breeds revolt, in a people determined to be free, and that revolt knows no law but necessity for its action. Planting themselves upon the Declaration of Independence as the basis of their policy, they did not any precisely how the enemies of slavery, in their future struggles, should make their approaches or prosecute their assaults whether chiefly through the federal agencies, or the saving grace of State Rights, so gloriously illustrated by the State of Wisconsin; but they virtually proclaimed war against the institution, and the determination to rescue the nation from its power.

I stand therefore with the Republican party, and I would stand with no party upon any narrower platform. I am for the Union, simply as the servant of Liberty, and I shall go for its dissolution the moment I become convinced that it can be preserved only through the perpetual enslavement of four millions of people and their descendants.—We of the free states, without resorting to revolution, have the power to settle the slavery question wisely and justly. Let us strive to eradicate the sentiment of tyranny from our hearts, and to kindle in its place a love of liberty so dominant and all-availing and a hatred of slavery so intense and unquenchable, that the question of disunion shall be forgotten in the previous question of deliverance to the captive. The union will cease to be the citadel of slavery, when placed in the hands of men who really love liberty. If we can breathe into our people a true anti-slavery life, the Union, instead of being the prison-house of the slave will be the chosen gate way of his escape. But so long as we fail in our work of moral and political regeneration, the dissolution of the Union will be impracticable, if not undesirable.

I thought perhaps to add one further remark. I have said that my hope is with the Republican party. I freely confess that I am not sanguine in that hope. I decidedly condemn the policy of that party in making "Immediate Success" the basis of its action; in trusting in the power of numbers, rather than the force of an honest example; in compromising and concealing the truth for the sake of which it has professed to labor; in resorting to discreditable coalitions, and shallow expedients, bringing reproach upon its cause; in protesting perpetually, and with uplifted hands, against every form of "abolitionism" as if slavery were right in itself; and in vainly looking for the triumph of its principles through the noisy demonstrations of excited political contests, occurring at distant intervals, instead of systematic efforts, prosecuted from year to year, for the spread of needed information among the people. These errors and short-comings are mainly chargeable to the bad leadership of unbelieving politicians, and they must be abandoned before Republicanism can honestly hold up its head as the friend of the slave. To this end, as a Republican, I shall steadfastly labor hereafter, as I have done heretofore.

Very truly your friend,

GEO. W. JULIAN.

ROCK ISLAND, CO., ILLINOIS.

October, 27th, 1857.

To the President of the Cleveland Disunion Convention.

Sir: Circumstances useless to mention but beyond my control, prevent my attending the Convention at Cleveland as I was anxious to do, you will therefore excuse my presumption for addressing this letter to the Convention through its President.

The important subject to be discussed under the "Call" for the Convention may be properly divided into two very important questions. First, the constitutional right of one or more of the States to secede peaceably from the Union; and second, the propriety, duty and necessity of such secession in order to effect the abolition of African Slavery, or, at least, to throw off the criminal responsibility of aiding and supporting this "peculiar institution" of Despotism.

Upon the right of secession, most assuredly, depends the duty of adopting it as a remedy for the evil in question. It must, then, be of the utmost importance for the Convention to establish beyond cavil the constitutional right of secession, upon which the remedy to be applied is necessarily based.

In a few letters, published in the *Liberator*, I have endeavored to show, what to me seems to be a truth as self-evident as the Declaration of Independence itself, namely, the constitutional right of one or more of the States to secede peaceably from the Union. All the words quoted and commented on, such as State, Nation, Commonwealth, Kingdom, Republic, Sovereignty, Allegiance and Supreme, in their common and general acceptation, clearly and unquestionably establish the position laid down, while, on the other hand, they all have to be perverted from their common meaning to sustain the popular theory "that the United States is a nation," and that, "it would be a solemnism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts." To these add the words "Congress and Union" which are universally applicable to a combination of States or Nations, and not to an individual State or Nation.

With all these facts, and the irrefutable theory of one system of government, as laid down by the Republican party of 1798, at their service is it possible that the Convention will risk the advocacy of dissolving the Union upon the false theory of General Jackson's proclamation that "Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right, is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution or incurred the penalties consequent on a failure," instead of planting itself upon the sovereignty of the States, and the Declaration of Independence?

I trust that the Convention will not grant what its enemies claim, namely that its proposed remedy is revolutionary; but that it will assert with the venerable patriot Samuel Adams: "That State Sovereignty is the pith of the private and personal rights of the citizen"—the basis of its proposed remedy.

Let me then suggest for the calm and deliberate consideration of the Convention the propriety, the duty, the necessity, of adopting, as the basis of its political action, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. These resolutions are not only tenable, but they are absolutely irrefutable—the only theory of our system of Government upon which a dissolution of the Union can be constitutionally supported and triumphant, maintained against the "fanatics," who to sus-

tain slavery by "Federal usurpation," utterly repudiate the sovereignty of the States, and tacitly submit to the enormities of a "government of unlimited powers." Or to what is practically the same, a "government which is the sole judge of its own powers" against the sovereign parties who created it and breathed into it the breath of life.

As I conscientiously believe slavery to be the greatest curse that can be inflicted on man, no human governments, Constitutions or Unions are too sacred to be demolished if such a course is absolutely necessary to abolish slavery. If then, the Convention should decide that the dissolution of the Union is necessary to abolish slavery, is it not, let me respectfully ask, the duty—the solemn moral and political duty—of every member, who takes this view of the subject, to place this vital and important question upon the best possible basis—"the freedom, independence and sovereignty" of each State of the Confederacy, and its moral, natural and reserved constitutional right, in the language of the Declaration of Independence "to alter or abolish 'its government and to institute a new government laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their happiness and safety?"

On the other hand, to base this vital question on the right of "revolution," which even despots concede, is in my humble opinion, to prove false to the sacred rights of the slave, for whose benefit a dissolution of the Union is sought to be effected. I say false, because duty to the slave demands that the issue be presented to the people in the least objectionable form.

Let me place this question in the clearest light that my humble abilities will admit.

Are the citizens of New York guilty of participating in the crime of Slavery because they are a part of a nation in which it exists? If the affirmative of this question be true then they have but two ways to avoid this criminality.

First, to abolish slavery by the Federal Government. This, from the fact that, by the Federal Constitution, three millions of their inhabitants, acting against the people of the slave State of Delaware, have no voice in the Senate, and that two millions have no voice in the Executive department must necessarily be an event not soon to be accomplished.

Second, to "destroy the unity of the nation" and establish a government for themselves which would be acknowledged by all to be a revolution. On the other hand, if the negative of the above question be true, as it certainly is, are the people of New York responsible for supporting slavery?

Most assuredly they are responsible, and infinitely more so than if the affirmative were true because New York being a sovereign state, voluntarily supports and sanctions slavery by remaining in the Federal Union with her co-States without an effort to abolish it. She might, however, consistently remain in the Union if her people believed that the Federal Constitution was anti-slavery, and exerted their constitutional means to abolish it, through the Federal Government, with a reasonable hope of success. But while "maintaining a masterly inactivity" and granting the right of its co-states to enslave men, women and children, it is equally guilty before God, and,

It is not doing, is set down Amongst its darkest deeds."

Clearly, then, the duty and responsibility of the people of any one state, Massachusetts for instance, does not depend, in the remotest degree, upon the action of its co-States, whether nominally free or actually slaveholding States. Like an individual, each State being sovereign, and not a part of a nation, is responsible to the God of nations for its complicity in the crime of its co-States against the sacred rights of humanity.

If this view of the responsibility of each state for its complicity in the inhuman and Heaven-daring crime of slavery, be correct it must be the imperative duty of the Convention to place this vital question on the best possible basis—the sovereignty of the States. First and mainly, because it is the true basis, and second, because the proposed remedy should, in good faith to the slave, have the benefit of every possible element of success.

Yours for the cause of humanity.

B. G. WRIGHT.

The following letter from the Hutchinsons is expressive of their earnest sympathy with the object of the convention.

ST. PAUL, Oct. 15th, 1857.

T. W. HIGGINSON, Dear Friend: We regret exceedingly that we cannot be with you and the host of the "True and Brave" at your council to be held at Cleveland on the 29th, inst.

Our many cares here for the present, is our only excuse.

Believe us ever with you in spirit, Chaoting the dirge of American Slavery.

Truly Yours

THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY.

PER. ASA B. HUTCHINSON.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SALEM, OHIO, NOVEMBER 7, 1857.

Report of Speeches and Discussions at the Cleveland Disunion Convention.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.—FIRST SESSION.

CHARLES L. REMOND, of Massachusetts first addressed the meeting. He regretted the absence of those friends of freedom in the East, who had been expected to be present at the Northern Convention appointed to be held at this time and place. He would have been glad to meet them, as well as all others, from whatever region of country, who sympathize with us in the work in which we are engaged. But the absence of so many, whose presence we expected and desired, should not be allowed to dampen our spirits. Let us show to the world that we are in earnest and not to be shaken in our determination to bear a testimony for truth that shall be felt, and to use all our efforts to break the hateful Union that has been attempted in this land between Slavery and Freedom.

ANDY K. FOSTER, said: The audience this morning are mostly abolitionists, and to them I wish to speak of the exigencies and responsibilities of the present hour. First, as to the postponement of the Convention that we have come to this city to attend. I regret that postponement. I regret deeply that those who have served the cause as Wendell Phillips and Mr. Garrison have done should not be here; yet we must not allow ourselves to be deterred from prompt and decisive action on account of the absence of one or two abolitionists, however able and eloquent and devoted. I remember being forcibly impressed, some years ago, by a remark of Mr. Phillips, which is again brought to my mind to-day. A Woman's Rights Convention had been announced. Mr. Phillips was expected to attend it. We learned,

however, that he could not do so, and were disappointed and discouraged; for we thought we could not hold the Convention without him. But it was too late to put it off; the Convention was held, and proved to be a more successful one than we ever hoped to make it. Nobody seemed to miss Wendell Phillips. In speaking of the matter afterward Mr. Phillips said to me, "Andy, both you and I can die and the cause of reform will not miss us." So we should all feel. In the prosecution of this glorious enterprise our reliance should be in divine principle—our trust in truth, and not in individuals. This idea, that the absence of one individual should mar the work of reform, shows that we are far too much given to shifting responsibilities from our own shoulders upon those of others. We must be brought to feel that this work is ours. If we felt this, then our work would go on. The abolitionists have long spoken of man-worship and condemned it. We have found fault with the people of this country for putting out their thinking, as they do their washing, to be done by others. We have inculcated the idea that every individual should feel that he, and he alone, is responsible for his own thought and action. Let us all try to be taught by the lesson which this occasion affords, what we have so long labored to impart to others, that we are to do our own work for ourselves. If those who have stood foremost in our ranks were removed from us,—if the *Liberator* were led away captive, if the *Standard* should go down, and the *Bugle* cease its notes for freedom,—none the less should we feel our responsibility—all the more would each of us be bound to perform his individual duty in spreading the cry of "No Union with Slaveholders." When we are thus prepared to do our duty, then will our cause move forward with a power and speed that none of us understand. If I could but impress this great necessity upon all, I am sure our cause would never more suffer from scarcity of laborers, and we should succeed. For in a cause like ours one who is faithful to his duty can chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight. This is no figure of speech, but a practical and eternal truth. And why is it a truth? Not because the Bible declares it, but because *truth* is the truest philosophy, the best policy, and the highest expediency. It finds a response in every soul; it reaches every conscience. Hence he who engages in its service finds a faithful ally in every bosom; and thus aided, verily "one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

The great pecuniary distress that afflicts the country is mentioned as a reason why the Northern Convention should be put off. I believe this is a reason why it should not be put off. I thank God for that reason. True, it may prevent my raising the \$10,000 I should otherwise have obtained to carry forward our contemplated anti-slavery operations. But it has brought the people into a condition in which half that amount of means will enable us to do more effective labor than all of it would have done in a time of prosperity and plenty. "Man always prospers where he is giddy and insolent." Men worship at the altar of Mammon, and I am thankful even for sick-bed repentance, if it gives us the means of reaching the sick man's conscience. I rejoice that this shrine of Mammon at which the nation worships is being broken down. I believe that when physical prosperity is at an end amongst us, moral prosperity will begin; for it is true of nations that, when prosperous, they wrap about them the mantle of guilt. Prosperous nations, replete with dissipation and sink into imbecility and slavery.

Though I have been advised to look the difficulties in the face before attempting to go forward with the operations planned earlier in the season, yet I will go on. For now is the time to redeem those who have bowed so long to the money God from their idolatry; and raise their hearts to that God whose attributes is justice and whose name is Liberty. I have looked the difficulties in the face. We will not be deterred by the present circumstances, but will avail ourselves of them and make them aid us. No possible circumstances could furnish a reason for abating our anti-slavery labors; or if this could be, the present is not the time to falter; let us rest, if we must, when the land is drunk with political excitement and commercial prosperity, and not, as now, when the better feelings of the people are within our reach. Little can be done for any reform in a time of great prosperity.

I am glad that two of our agents are to go into the neighborhood of the city of New York, where the financial pressure is most severe; for I believe that now they will get a hearing. The very reasons, then, which our friends urge for abating our lecturing operations, are the reasons why I would continue and, if possible, increase them, just as the reason they urge for postponing this convention, is the reason why I would have it held.

I hope we will all lay ourselves anew upon the altar. I hope no drop of water will be thrown to cool the zeal of any. I do not wish to act without judgment; I think I do not so act. I believe that the best interests of the slave, the country and the world require that we should profit by the present opportunity for labor. Our recent labors in Ohio have been successful beyond those of any former time. The earnestness with which people hear the truth and ask for light, has never been greater than now. And the interest, felt and manifested all over the North, in this Northern Convention is evidence of the fact. True we must not look for much pecuniary aid from the people at large. We must be prepared to make sacrifices. The longer a reform—contemplating an entire revolution—is prosecuted, and the nearer it approaches its consummation, the greater the sacrifices its friends are required to make. The American Revolution illustrates this. In 1776 our fathers laid life and fortune and sacred honor upon the altar. Those engaged most zealously in carrying it on were men of the people; Sam Adams was not of the aristocracy, nor was John Hancock, though a man of wealth. The names of the "first families" of the day are forgotten. They were the conservatives and Tories of their times—the men who worshipped at the King's chapel in Tremont street, in Boston—the men of property and standing. As the revolution progressed the day darkened. The people became weary of the work they had so nobly begun. The few who bore the responsibility of the war had to toil unceasingly, and endure every hardship and make every sacrifice. They were almost ready to give up again and again. The soldiery deserted constantly, and it required all the energy and influence, and means of the few to "keep up the steam." They had to get up crises after crises and go about from town to town to recruit the constantly wasting army. Then, at last, came monetary distress. The wives and children of the soldiers, left alone and helpless, were reduced to the extremest distress, till thousands who had espoused the cause of freedom at the first, cursed

the revolution, and longed for the flesh-pots of prosperity which they had enjoyed previous to 1776. Such I believe will be found to be the history of all revolutions.

Ours is a revolution, not a reform. We contemplate the entire destruction of the present National Government and Union. And it is only by constant effort, all the more earnest and sacrificing as the glorious consummation approaches, that we can hope to succeed. We must fire up the opposition, and create such a spirit of resistance that our opponents will be pushed to extremes. The Republican party must be driven over to the enemy, as it will not take the true position. The battle must be fought face to face. This is the work we have to do,—this the final issue to which we must come at last.

Every year brings us nearer to the impending crisis. When it comes we shall learn that the enemy was bold and insolent and proud because of his many successes; and that he will yield, ingloriously, before the manly and open opposition of those determined to sustain the cause of freedom.

And we alone can now carry on the work that is to end thus gloriously and triumphantly. Let us therefore at this convention act in union and with determination; no matter though our number be small. We have no time to lose. The slave's cause is our cause also. Just so long as the black man is a slave, so long are our children on the auction block at his side. Slavery must be overthrown or it inevitably curses the country, and our children must become either its victims or its perpetrators. My prayer is that we may never, never, consent to either—that we will save our children from the terrible doom of slavery, and the still more fearful calamity of becoming slaveholders.

PARKER PILLSBURY, spoke of the importance attached throughout the West to the Convention advertised to be held in this city at this time. He believed those who had announced the postponement of that Convention will never know, in this world, the extent of the evil they have done. The cause of Freedom has never since its commencement received so great a blow. I do not believe that even the apostasy of 1840 bore any comparison in its evil effects, to this act of the Committee of Arrangements. If our cause can survive this it will be proof, strong as can ever be adduced, that it is immortal; and I believe it will survive it only because I believe in the immortality of truth.

Where the accustomed wisdom and devotion of these men could have been when this act was done I am utterly at loss to determine. If this thing had been done by any other men than those who did it, I should have doubted no longer the doctrine of total depravity—nor questioned farther the 'sin against the Holy Ghost,' which it is said is never forgiven. So great a baseness as this postponement would have been, if it had been done with any malignancy of design, I never witnessed and cannot conceive of. Here some twelve or fifteen of us have been for months rushing through these Western States with the midnight cry upon our lips, "Behold the bridegroom cometh!" I have been as much inspired as was the herald who proclaimed glad tidings of great joy on the plains of Judea, and who was joined by the Angelic host in their anthem of "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace and good will to men;" and if amid those songs of joy and rejoicing that greeted the advent of the babe of Bethlehem, another angelic messenger had appeared to declare the postponement of that glorious event, the announcement could not have been more strange or more astounding, than was, to thousands of the people, the news of the postponement of this convention.

I have no language to describe the disappointment and regret we felt. Our hearts had been filled with joy and rejoicing as in view of a coming Millennium. If the brightest morning that ever dawned on the world, should be instantly changed to darkest night, by a veil of blackness that should utterly shut out the sun in his strength, it would not be more terrible in its effect than was the letting down of this "blanket of darkness" between us and the bright prospect before us. It will take years to bring the people of the West back again to where they stood forty hours ago—before this announcement had reached them. I can conceive nothing more unfortunate since Millard Fillmore placed his name to the Fugitive Slave Law. And even that act in its effect upon the cause of freedom, was by no means so fatal as this, as it had an alloy of gold.

Large numbers of those who have been voters were looking to the action of this convention as the beginning of a new era in their political and moral existence. They were coming in large numbers to attend it. They had become sick to death of the cowardice and treachery of the Republican party. They came to our preliminary meetings and listened as never before. We called upon them to be here, and they would have come. But where are we this morning? Of the large numbers who would have come, even from this city, few if any will enter the house.

Many of the people of Cleveland feared evil to their cherished idols from this convention. There was never such joy and gladness amongst them as came with the news of its postponement. And so will it be all over the land. The South will send up a shout of joy over this disaster. Nothing in the history of the country is like it. When the Central America went down, with her half million of treasure, and her hundreds of lives, it was a fearful calamity. But the hearts and hopes of millions will sink deeper than the lowest caverns of the ocean on account of the postponement of this Convention.

The foe was before us;—we were ready for the struggle; victory was about to perch upon our banners;—when our leaders sounded a retreat, and we were compelled to yield all to our enemies! I hope what we shall do to-day will show the indignation that is felt at the West on account of the action of the Committee of Arrangements, that has thus defeated the noble purpose for which we have toiled so long and earnestly.

ANDY K. FOSTER, notwithstanding the evil effects of his postponement, it will I trust, indirectly, have a good effect in one or two particulars. It may teach us a lesson of self-reliance which will be useful to us in the future. If it removes from us every vestige of man-worship that remains in our hearts, and leads us to venerate principles rather than men, it may do us as great a good as it has done us harm. The abolitionists of the West have looked too much to the East. The West must learn to be self-supporting, and self-relying in future. This lesson learned, the cause of freedom will find speedy success.

MARUS R. ROBINSON, said if anybody in the West was to be held in any way responsible for the postponement of the Northern Convention he was the person. He greatly regretted the postponement and had no objections to the resolutions passed by this meeting condemning that act. He received the proposition for postponement by telegraph, accompanied by a request to know his view of its propriety. Judging from his information that the east would not be represented and feeling that the convention had better be postponed

than to attempt to hold a more fragmentary one, he so expressed himself. Then however he supposed there was time, by using all due diligence, to notify the friends in the west of the postponement. After the postponement was agreed upon, notice was telegraphed to him, but the message was never received and he first learned of it by letter on Thursday last, too late to give the information to many who designed to attend.—He however published it with the reasons assigned and in the language of his informant. As it was then impossible that the information should reach many in the West who designed to attend, he thought it was indispensable that a convention should be held and took all possible means to give information that one would be held.

S. S. FOSTER, said he wished to censure no one on account of the putting off of this convention.—Censure is for men who have done intentional wrong. He believed that nobody had so acted in this case. He wished however to express his very decided opinion against the judgement of these men, and he hoped their mistake might be so reported to the public as to warn them and others against the commission of similar faults in future. But he knew, and he wished it borne in mind, that the West is to blame in this very matter. They attach far too much importance to the presence of Wendell Phillips at conventions such as this. Mr. Garrison and others doubtless thought, and truly, that great dissatisfaction would be felt by the Western people if Mr. Phillips should not be in attendance, and he had no doubt but that this consideration had much to do with determining the committee in favor of a postponement.—With regard to Mr. Robinson he did not suppose that his course had any bearing on the decision.—At any rate, the committee had the right to consult him, he had no authority in the matter, and they did wrong to try to get his sanction to the act, and thus to divide the responsibility.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

After some remarks by C. L. Remond and Henry Willis in favor of promptness in conducting the proceedings of the Convention:—

AARON M. POWELL, of New York, addressed the Convention. He declared himself in favor of the immediate and absolute dissolution of the American Union; and though this convention was not the one contemplated in the original Call, it declares its object to be to carry out the same purposes, and hence we should all be ready to participate in it, and make it available for the overthrow of slavery and a slaveholding union.—We ought not to come together here, and separate again, and the fact not be made publicly known that we are in favor, with our whole hearts, of a dissolution of this guilty union. I rejoice in this convention because in it the friends of the present National compact have the same freedom to give their reasons for honoring and upholding the union, that we have to express ours for detesting and denouncing it, and demanding its speedy and entire destruction.

It is a self-evident proposition that between liberty and slavery there can be no union and that the experiment to form such a union, was a wild and foolish one at the start. My friend Remond said this morning that we must dissolve the union between freedom and slavery. I believe there is not, and never was any such union. It is at best but nominal freedom, not actual, that can be in union with slavery. In a national sense there is no freedom in this country. It is slavery and only slavery. The slave power sits triumphant on the throne, and freedom is impossible in the nature of the case. We have not in New York a foot of ground on which our friend Wm. Wells Brown could, for a moment stand and be secure, if he had not in his pocket a deed of his freedom, given him by the noble and philanthropic women in England. We are then not for a dissolution of the union between freedom and slavery, but for a separation of the states of this confederacy. Prominent Republican leaders declare that in the union may be found the only safeguard of slavery. We believe this doctrine to be true, but unlike these Republicans we labor for its dissolution; while they go for its preservation. We would take from slavery its only support. It is true that the South threatened disunion, in the event of Fremont's election to the Presidency. But what is the condition of the South to-day? Can the South stand alone? Wendell Phillips sometimes says of South Carolina, that "she has not money enough to buy her crutches on which to hobble out of the Union!" Take away Ohio, and Pennsylvania and New York and slavery falls to the ground.

We are in favor of disunion because we believe the Union to be wicked. It violates the eternal principles of justice. It is therefore not only "practicable" and "expedient" but it is most that there should be a dissolution of the Union. The true expediency is always the right. We believe the compact between the North and South to be a conspiracy of the vilest character; and that every man in this convention who refuses to enroll himself as a disunionist, is a conspirator before God and his fellow men. We believe in driving this matter home, and bringing men to a sense of their responsibility.

I am a disunionist because I believe it will abolish slavery. It is sometimes said that we are deserting the main issue, when we enter into the question of disunion. I view it otherwise. By virtue of the compromises of the confederacy the people of the North stand by the Southern tyrants and give them strength to hold the slave in his chains; and I demand that the northern people shall cease to occupy this ungodly position. The slave-owners are at the South but the slaveholders are as well in Ohio as in South Carolina, in the Republican party as well as in the Democratic. The editor of the Cleveland Herald says we all ought to be hung. There you have it. This declaration shows where the guards of the slave plantations are. Find a man that is not a disunionist and you find a slaveholder; even though he claims to be a Garrisonian or a Gerrit Smith man, still, if not a disunionist, he is slaveholder. If this be not true, let the friends of the union show it.

We are then for disunion, that the slave may be led out of his prison house of bondage. It is under the union the duty of every loyal citizen, to crush every one, who imitating the example of Lafayette should attempt to assist the slave in gaining his freedom. As citizens of this government it is your duty to put to death not only the slave, but whoever may attempt to aid him. Every man, then, who is true to the union is a conspirator against the slave and the slave's friends.

Mr. Powell proceeded to read from documents and speeches, showing that leading Republicans all over the land regarded the Union, as essential to the continuance of slavery, and yet pledge themselves, whatever may come, to stand by the Union, he appealed to the people in the name of liberty and justice to cease their complicity with slavery—"the sum of all villainies," and to make war upon the union that is its only effective safeguard

and upon all political parties which sustain that union.

C. C. BURLEIGH, followed Mr. Powell. He said it would be easy if there were any necessity for it, to add to the testimony presented, showing the effect of the union in upholding slavery. Some time ago he listened to a speech by a United States Senator, (Henry Wilson) in which the same arguments were made as cited by the friend who had preceded him. He referred to the cry that the union would be dissolved if the south could not have her own will. He then argued that without the union slavery could not stand. I thought he made clean work of it, fully proving his position. In a disunion speech his argument would have been in place. But before he got through he claimed for his party that it was the trust of all the parties to the Union! I believe with these men that it is the union between the Free and Slave states that makes slavery possible at the south—that without the union slavery could not exist. Hence I go for dissolution.

I turn now to the resolutions before me. Slavery and freedom, it is declared, are eternal antagonisms, and can no more be reconciled than fire and water, or Christ and Belial. It seems to me that this is a truism, and that it would be so accepted anywhere else but here, where an attempt at such reconciliation has made the people incapable of understanding the simplest elements of moral truth. If slavery and freedom are brought together, being opposites, either they must be equal and counterbalance each other; or one must be stronger than the other, when, of course, the stronger becomes the governor. The American Government is an illustration of this truth. Slavery and freedom were brought together in the same confederacy. Slavery set to work to gain supremacy, and it succeeded. The slave power has never asked what eventually it did not get. If the people refused its demand at first, it had but to take two steps to gain what could not be attained at the first. When the slave power demanded the Missouri compromise, slavery could not have been made the common law of the land. Slaveholders did not demand, then, that the south should be the exclusive property of slavery; but agreed that the north should belong exclusively to freedom, and the south to be open alike to freedom and slavery. But to day, another step has been taken. Now the South is to be the exclusive property of slavery, and the North is to be open alike to slavery or freedom.

Slavery now gives you your presidents. It appoints your Supreme Judges and dictates their decisions. We were told before the last Presidential election, even by Democrats, that they did not like Pierce's Administration. He was controlled by the slave power. "But," said they, "we will change all this and adopt a truer policy. We will elect a statesman—a man of long experience and of impartial judgment, and will have a truly Democratic government." Well, they elected Buchanan. But with what result? It is a true doctrine, in this country at least, that "the King never dies"—the throne is never vacant. Polk or Fillmore, or Pierce, or Buchanan may be called President, yet the power that rules, and acts through every administration remains forever on the throne.—There is no interregnum. Harrison may die and give place to Tyler, Fillmore may take the place of Taylor, Pierce may sink back again into his accustomed obscurity and Buchanan occupy his seat.—Still through all this there is no change of rulers. Slavery does it all. These are but the instruments it uses. We see, then, as the resolution asserts, the utter and necessary failure of every attempt to unite slavery and freedom.

Another illustration of this truth, is the attitude in which earnest anti-slavery men are being fast, compelled to place themselves with regard to this question. When the anti-slavery agitation began, nobody thought of questioning the value, and the influence for good, of the Union. We thought it was only because good men had slumbered, neglecting to look into the character of slavery, that they had not abolished it long ago. We thought we had but to speak and millions would echo our voices. But we soon found that the whole North must be converted to the principles of freedom before the South could be reached. The Union stood between us and freedom. The South knew this and cried, "You are disunionists!" We denied the charge. I remember twenty-four years ago I conducted an anti-slavery paper—the first in my native state. I remember its title was "The Unionist." I would attach the prefix "Dis" to it now.—"Instant is a great matter." The South saw that we must come to join issue with the Union and the Government; and the idolatry of the Union was so universal in the minds of the people, that they seemed determined to stand by the compact and keep slavery, rather than to abolish slavery by endangering the Union. So we discovered at length that the Union was the great bulwark of Slavery.

But next a difference arose between earnest anti-slavery people, as to the proper course to be pursued in making war upon slavery, they were consequently, divided into two parties. One party condemned the Union and refused all voluntary connection with the Government. The other party condemned the existing Government and Union, but were unwilling to give up politics. They claimed that the Constitution on which the Union is based had not been rightly interpreted. True, they said, it is wrong to uphold slavery, but they denied the inference that it was also wrong to sustain the Union, as they held that it was by a violation of the constitution that the Union had become the bulwark of slavery. A true interpretation, they claimed, showed the Constitution to be hostile to slavery. It is the duty of the government, said they, so to construe it that it will forever abolish the system throughout the land. Thus they came upon the same ground, practically, that we occupied, and that is set forth in the resolution—that there can be no union between freedom and slavery.

These two rallying points are gathering about them all the earnest anti-slavery feeling of the country. True there are persons in the Republican party, who are sincerely opposed to slavery, and wish to act out consistently their opposition, who have not yet felt it their duty to withdraw wholly from the party. But I believe these men lack intelligence with regard to the matter. Of those persons, some take the pro-slavery and some the anti-slavery view of the Constitution. Republicans often say to me, "I cannot go with you, for I do not agree with you about the Constitution, I believe it anti-slavery." True, I can reply, but if you believe the Constitution to be anti-slavery, what business have you to vote for men who accept a precisely opposite interpretation, and who declare their intention so to administer it? Salmon P. Chase is as good a Republican as the party can either generate or tolerate. But the truth is the party can neither generate or tolerate whole men, or such as will perform the duties of whole men. I have read of a temple somewhere in Italy, whose roof is so low, that the god to whom it was devoted had to be carried in a sitting posture; and, if this